

HOUSING MANHATTANITES

2025 EDITION

An Update on Housing Creation and
Opportunity in Our Borough



MARK LEVINE
MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT

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Housing Manhattanites 2025

Letter from Manhattan Borough President Mark Levine

Dear Manhattanites,

The numbers are astounding. Average rents in Manhattan are now over \$5,400 a month.¹ Our vacancy rate sits at just over 2%.² More than 100,000 people are in shelters across the city. Thousands of tenants are facing threats of eviction. This is what a full-blown affordability crisis looks like—and it's the worst in our city's history.

When we released Housing Manhattanites two years ago, we laid out a vision and series of recommendations for how every neighborhood in our borough could contribute to solving this crisis. And I'm proud to share that since then we have made real progress. As you will see in this report, nearly 10,000 units of housing identified in our 2023 report are now moving forward, we have taken an historic step with the adoption of the Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan, and we have changed city and state policy to unlock new housing opportunities all across the city. I'm particularly proud that this updated report includes input from our Manhattan neighbors, who collectively submitted over 90 sites that we reviewed for housing potential.

The wins celebrated in this report are a result of collaboration between City, State and neighborhood partners. The Universal Affordability Preference we helped fight for is now unlocking thousands of additional affordable units. Office buildings are transforming into homes. New high-density zoning districts are becoming reality. And this November, New Yorkers overwhelmingly voted to tackle our housing crisis head on by streamlining the housing approval process. Each of these advances brings us closer to a Manhattan where New Yorkers at every income level can afford to live.

The work ahead remains substantial, but the momentum is undeniable. Every site that breaks ground, every policy reform that passes, every community that says “yes” to new neighbors helps build a more affordable and inclusive Manhattan. I'm energized by the progress we've made together, and I'm committed to keeping this momentum going until every New Yorker has access to a safe, affordable home.



Mark Levine
Manhattan Borough President

1 https://millersamuel.com/files/2025/11/Rental-10_2025.pdf

2 https://millersamuel.com/files/2025/11/Rental-10_2025.pdf

Housing Manhattanites 2025

Executive Summary

In this update to *Housing Manhattanites* -- the Borough President's 2023 plan which identified opportunities for the creation of over 73,000 units of housing -- we identify progress on the sites and rezonings included in our initial 2023 report, introduce new housing opportunities identified with input from New Yorkers across the borough, and outline the policy advances that are creating new pathways to address our housing crisis.

Housing Manhattanites 2025 at a Glance

20% sites progressing	9,471 units moving forward	34 new housing sites identified	2,939 additional potential units	9,500+ units from MSMX adoption
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The State of Housing in Manhattan

Manhattan's housing crisis has only intensified over the past two years. Over forty five percent of households are rent-burdened³, struggling to afford their homes while the borough's vacancy rate hovers just above 2%.⁴ Average rents reached \$5,651 in October 2025⁵, reflecting the acute supply shortage that continues to price out working and middle-class families. While this report demonstrates significant strides forward, we recognize that far more work lies ahead to meaningfully address the housing crisis.

Progress on the Ground: 9,471 Units Moving Forward

Since releasing our original report, 35 of the 171 sites we identified have advanced toward development, representing 9,471 housing units across 11 community districts. These projects span the full affordability spectrum, from 100% affordable developments to mixed-income and market-rate housing that adds essential supply. Some have completed construction, while others have secured financing, received approvals, or entered the public review process.

The Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan

Perhaps the most significant development highlighted in this report is the adoption of the Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan in August 2025—one of the key rezonings we championed in our original report.

3 <https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/2025-IA-Study.pdf>

4 <https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/2025-HSR.pdf>

5 https://millersamuel.com/files/2025/07/Rental-06_2025.pdf

After advancing through the public review process beginning in January 2025, the City Council approved this transformative 42-block rezoning that will unlock over 9,535 new homes, including up to more than 2,842⁶ permanently affordable units, in a centrally located, transit-rich Manhattan neighborhood where housing development was previously prohibited.

The plan makes history as it utilizes the newly established R11 and R12 zoning districts, where floor area ratios above 12 are permitted thanks to the state's repeal of the FAR cap and the passage of City of Yes for Housing Opportunity zoning text reforms. By mapping Mandatory Inclusionary Housing onto the neighborhood for the first time and removing restrictions on residential conversions of office buildings, MSMX creates multiple pathways for housing production in Midtown.

New Opportunities for Housing

More than 90 potential housing sites were submitted through our website by Manhattan residents eager to see new housing developed in their neighborhoods. After evaluating each of these sites, we identified 34 viable locations that could deliver nearly 3,000 additional housing units, including over 350 affordable homes. These publicly submitted sites are predominantly surface parking lots with some vacant and low-density retail properties and reveal untapped housing potential in neighborhoods throughout the borough.

This report also proposes a new rezoning opportunity along the 12th Avenue waterfront in West Harlem, where manufacturing-zoned parcels north of 125th Street could become a vibrant mixed-use neighborhood. Depending on the scope of a potential rezoning, this area could yield between 3,700 and 6,000 housing units.

Policy Advances Unlocking New Potential

The policy landscape has evolved dramatically since 2023, creating new tools and pathways for housing production. Our office proudly advocated for and supported the adoption of City of Yes for Housing Opportunity in December 2024 which introduced zoning reforms including the Universal Affordability Preference (UAP), expanded office-to-residential conversion opportunities, and created new high-density residential districts that made the Midtown South rezoning possible.

Our analysis reveals that UAP alone could generate approximately 3,741 additional housing units including 3,234 affordable units across the original 171 sites we identified. The expanded conversion policies have catalyzed at least 22 office-to-residential conversion projects in Manhattan totaling over 8,000 potential units, breathing new life into underutilized commercial buildings while addressing shifting workplace patterns.

Looking Ahead: Charter Revision and Continued Advocacy

In November 2025, New York City voters approved three Charter Revision Commission proposals to further accelerate housing production. Approved proposals 2, 3, and 4 will streamline approval

6 <https://council.nyc.gov/keith-powers/press/bottcher-and-powers-usher-through-midtown-south-rezoning-9500-new-homes-garment-district-protections-34th-street-car-free-busway-broadway-vision/#::-:text=Led%20by%20Council%20Members%20Erik,at%20the%20heart%20of%20Manhattan>

processes for affordable housing projects, create expedited review for modest residential developments and infrastructure improvements, and establish an Affordable Housing Appeals Board to ensure borough-wide and citywide perspectives are heard in land use decisions.

Our office has also actively used our role in the ULURP process to advance housing, expediting review of three applications that will collectively deliver 824 units including 485 permanently affordable homes. We've advocated for state policies including property tax abatement programs, tenant protections, and supportive housing development—recognizing that solving our housing crisis requires action on multiple fronts simultaneously.

A Path Forward

The progress documented in this report demonstrates what's possible when we approach housing production with urgency and creativity. But rents continue to climb, and vacancy rates remain extremely low. Our work represents the beginning, not the end, of our efforts to address the housing crisis. We look forward to continuing this work across all fronts to ensure that Manhattan remains accessible to New Yorkers across all income levels, preserving the economic and cultural diversity that defines our borough.

Housing Manhattanites 2025

Methodology

Site Identification

The methodology selected for this report were both quantitative and qualitative. Publicly owned and privately owned sites that were included in our original list of sites were identified using the Department of City Planning's PLUTO dataset. This dataset provides information that is sourced from different City agencies, including land use, building, and geographic details for individual tax lots. When identifying which publicly owned sites to include in our report, we focused on vacant or underutilized properties, as well as parking facilities. While we also used PLUTO data to identify privately owned sites, our criteria for these sites were slightly different. In that search, we focused on properties that are:

- Located in zoning districts that allow housing as-of-right
- Vacant or contain buildings that are only one or two stories
- Do not have any landmark or historic district designation

Additional publicly owned sites were identified by reviewing the City's commitments from recent rezoning actions, including Essex Crossing, the East Harlem Rezoning, and the SoHo/NoHo rezoning, as well as sites in the NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development pipeline. Our office also consulted various stakeholders, including community boards, who provided information as well as additional sites that we considered.

In the initial report, sites were then individually researched and removed if the owner has recently filed a demolition or new building application, the lot shape or other site conditions would prevent housing construction, or if the lot is used as publicly accessible open space.

New sites were submitted by the public via a Google form that was linked on our website. Our team vetted these sites based on available information regarding filings made with the Department of Buildings, development rights transfers, and the same criteria that we applied to our original sites to determine whether they were potential locations for housing.

Site Analyses

The maximum residential square footage for each site was calculated by multiplying the lot area by the floor area ratio (FAR) and the dwelling unit ratio⁷, both of which are determined by the site's zoning district. For sites that include commercial overlays or are located in commercial districts, 1.0 FAR of retail was assumed where deemed appropriate. These numbers are approximate figures and will vary depending on the type and size of units if construction occurs.

⁷ As part of City of Yes, the dwelling unit factor was eliminated in the Manhattan Core and maintained at 680 in the rest of Manhattan. The original site analysis was done when the dwelling unit factor still was in place for all of Manhattan and the new site analysis still used the dwelling unit factor to estimate the potential number of units in a development.

The following additional assumptions were made in our site analyses:

- For sites located in R7 and R8 districts outside of the Manhattan Core⁸ and on avenues, a Quality Housing FAR was used
- For sites in Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) areas, we assumed MIH Option 2⁹
- For sites in R10 or equivalent districts or in inclusionary housing-designated areas, a 20% inclusionary housing component was assumed.

Our analysis did not take into account the Sliver Law, which limits the height of certain buildings to up to 100 feet or the width of the street on which they are located, based on the width of the building. Furthermore, a few of the sites included in this report would need a rezoning to allow or increase their residential capacity. These are either sites where the City has stated its intention to rezone or where our office has learned that a property owner has proposed a rezoning.

Although extensive research was conducted on each site, some property records are not available to the public, including information regarding the transfer of development rights and ownership. This lack of data could lead to inaccuracies in the analysis and information presented.

Some sites included in the report are currently lower-level parking garages. Although we recognize that these site conditions may present some construction feasibility issues, we did not eliminate these sites because we believe they could best serve as sources of housing.

Some of the sites included in this report are located in areas with significant flood risk. Mitigation efforts will be critical to establishing sustainable housing developments that can adapt to climate conditions. The developers of these sites may be able to make use of the City's Zoning for Coastal Resiliency and other programs that facilitate waterfront development. Our site analyses did not take these programs into account.

Demographic and Housing Data

The City, Borough, and Community District data in this report was drawn from a variety of sources including the U.S. Census Bureau, the NYC Department of City Planning, Community District websites, StreetEasy's November 2022 Data Dashboard, and NYU's Furman Center.

"Rent burden" is defined as when renter households spend 30% or more of their household income on housing costs. Affordability data was aggregated by Community District at the approximate census tract level. For those census tracts that were split evenly between two Community Districts, data was used in both districts.

Universal Affordability Preference

In order to determine whether the Universal Affordability Preference (UAP) established as part of City of Yes could add any additional potential units to the original 171 sites, we examined multiple factors. First, we determined whether we suggested a site should be developed as market rate, subject to MIH, or 100% affordability. If a site was market rate with no other considerations, we used the UAP FAR to calculate the additional units that could be gained with UAP. If a site was MIH or 100% affordable, we

8 The Manhattan Core is defined as Community Boards 1 through 8.

9 MIH Option 2 requires that 30% of the units be affordable at an average of 80% AMI.

adjusted the number of affordable units to reflect the updated affordable FARs that match UAP. We additionally considered if a site was in a special district with a UAP height limit and if yes, calculated the percent difference between the height possible with the standard UAP and special district UAP and subtracted that percentage from the standard UAP unit numbers. If we assumed a site would be developed at 12 FAR, we did not apply UAP as 12 FAR is the maximum UAP FAR in R10 districts, and our original sites were identified before R11 or R12 districts existed. Furthermore, we did not use UAP on sites where permits have been filed, an RFP process had been started or a ULURP was completed. These calculations are purely approximate, and sand do not reflect any individual developer's ability to maximize the UAP FAR.

In addition, we looked at select rezoning areas from the original plan to determine how many potential units could be added based on the updated affordable housing FARs from City of Yes. We used the updated FARs for affordable housing that match the FARs possible under UAP and calculated the potential increase in the overall number of units and affordable units for the Kips Bay, Morningside Heights, and Southern Washington Heights rezonings included in the original report.

Housing Manhattanites 2025

From Plan to Progress

Housing Delivery Progress

Meaningful progress has been made on sites identified in the Housing Manhattanites report since its release in 2023. Of the 171 potential development sites identified, 35 sites or a total of 9,471 housing units are now moving forward. This marks a significant step forward in expanding housing opportunities for New Yorkers across income levels. The Midtown-South Mixed-Use Plan, one of the key rezonings highlighted in Housing Manhattanites, has now been adopted and will unlock additional housing capacity in this centrally located neighborhood.

As the list below illustrates, progress toward housing development in New York City can take many forms. Some projects have started community engagement, while others have advanced in RFP processes, completed public review, closed on financing, gotten approvals from the Department of Buildings, completed construction, or even started marketing affordable units to potential residents. Our team utilized DOB filings and media searches to track progress on these sites. Therefore, some of the data in this table may be incomplete.

We're excited to see these projects move forward and become homes for New Yorkers.

Individual Site Progress

Site	Proposed Units	Update
130 Liberty Street AKA 5 WTC	1160	In July 2023, the Public Authorities Control Board approved a project to bring 1,160 housing units, of which 30% would be affordable to 5 World Trade Center.
14 White Street	10	This site is currently under construction and will contain 10 dwelling units.
388 Hudson Street	100	In 2023, HPD began a series of public engagement sessions to inform the details of the RFP. The RFP for this site was released in February of 2025 and submissions are currently being reviewed. The site will include at least 100 affordable housing and community amenities.
181 Avenue D	570	A joint venture will develop the St. Emeric Church site as 570 units of affordable housing, with 60% of units reserved for formerly homeless households.

Site	Proposed Units	Update
550 W 20th Street	124	In July 2024, a development team for Liberty Landing was selected via RFP. The project will include 124 permanently affordable housing units, with 74 dedicated to formerly incarcerated individuals, as well as 15 short-term transitional homes for individuals with mental health challenges, and on-site supportive services.
418 11th Avenue - Site K	1349	In December 2024, a development team for Site K was selected via RFP. The project will contain 1,349 units of housing, 404 of them permanently affordable, and is the first permitted project to exceed 12 FAR.
616 11th Avenue	188	In March 2024, a new building permit was filed for a 12-story, 188-unit building.
621 W 45th Street	n/a	In March 2025, ESD released an RFP for residential development at the Intrepid parking lot site which will contain at least 25% affordable units.
201 7th Avenue	26	Construction is almost completed on this site, which will generate 26 affordable co-op units.
806 9th Avenue	112	Construction is ongoing at this site, which will provide affordable and supportive housing
705 10th Avenue	157	The completion of this affordable housing development is upcoming.
495 11th Avenue	358	In August 2025, building permits were approved for EDC's two-tower building containing hotel and housing units.
307 3 Avenue	69	In September 2023, a real estate group retained a 99-year ground lease on the site with plans to redevelop the site into 69 units of housing.
520 1st Avenue	n/a	EDC's SPARC project completed ULURP in early 2025, which includes plans for OCME to move onto the SPARC campus and vacate this site. Construction on SPARC is anticipated to be complete by 2031, at which point the site would be available for a new use.
266 W 96th Street	171	In December 2023, the Housing Lottery was opened for 52 rent stabilized units on this site for households earning between 70% and 130% of AMI.

Site	Proposed Units	Update
103 W 108th Street	84	This project represents phase 2 of a larger 100% affordable project on West 108th street. Construction is anticipated to begin in 2025 for housing for very low-income seniors living independently and a portion for seniors exiting homelessness.
221-243 East 94th Street	487	In March 2024, a zoning map and zoning text amendment was approved by city council at the site to facilitate a residential development with 30% affordable units. The Manhattan Borough President recommended approval of the project with a five-day turnaround.
1727 Amsterdam Avenue	199	This site is proposed to be developed into a nine-story, 199-bed tower supporting the homeless, seniors and low-income families. This project has now entered the ULURP process.
673 St Nicholas Avenue	112	Permits were filed July 2024 to enlarge the building from 2 to 7 stories and construct 112 units.
1763 Amsterdam	126	In November 2024, permits were filed to facilitate an 8-story residential building on this site, including senior housing.
35 West 125 Street	162	In September 2023, permits were filed to facilitate a 21-story mixed-use building with 162 units on this site, including affordable units.
52-58 W 116th Street	109	In September 2024, ULURP was completed for Malcom Shabazz to facilitate a residential development containing 109 affordable units. The Manhattan Borough President recommended approval of the project with a five-day turnaround.
150 West 145th Street	1000	In July 2025, the One45 project received City Council ULURP approval at the committee level for 3 buildings, 1,000 units, 338 of them affordable. The Manhattan Borough President recommended approval with conditions encouraging more affordability.
303 E 102nd Street	6	In August 2024, a new building permit was filed for a 6-story building with 6 units as part of Las Raices. In November 2024, project reached financial closing.

Site	Proposed Units	Update
338 E 117th Street	7	In August 2024, a new building permit was filed for a 5-story building with 7 units as part of Las Raices. In 2024, the project reached financial closing.
505 E 118th St	18	In 2024, the project reached financial closing.
1761 Park Ave	78	In 2024, the project reached financial closing.
244 E 106th St	32	In September 2023, the ShareNYC project received ULURP approval for 32 affordable rooming units. The Manhattan Borough President recommended approval of the project with a five-day turnaround.
1681 Park Avenue	340	In March 2024, ULURP was completed for Timbale Terrace to facilitate a residential development containing affordable and supportive housing units. The Manhattan Borough President recommended approval of the project with a five-day turnaround.
107 E 123rd St	82	In June 2024, Fortune Society broke ground on Castle III, which will contain 82 supportive & affordable units.
2460 2nd Ave	730	In April 2024, EDC gave a presentation to CB 11 with project updates in its early planning stages for archaeological excavation and a plan for housing, commercial, and retail at the site.
132 East 125th Street	73	This summer, demolition was completed at the site which will hold 73 affordable housing units.
4095 9th Avenue	570	HPD held community visioning meetings for the site to facilitate construction of a new building containing affordable housing and community amenities, including a center focused on STEM. The RFP for the site was released on October 9, 2024, and submissions were due on January 8, 2025.
West 184th St/Overlook Terrace	164	A permit has been filed for this site to facilitate a 23-story mixed-used building containing 164 units.
410-430 West 207th Street	698	In May 2023, construction began at the site for 698 units with 281 affordable units.

Housing Creation

While the creation of new units since the release of our report was not equally distributed among all Manhattan's 12 community boards, we have seen development throughout the entire borough. The table below analyzes how many units have been built in each community board overall, and specifically how many units from the 171 sites originally identified. This analysis is based on data from the Department of City Planning and the Department of Housing Preservation and Development.

Progress on Housing Units, by Community Board (CB)

CB	# Housing Manhattanites Sites Progressing	# Units on Housing Manhattanites Sites Progressing	Total Units Completed Since 2023 Housing Manhattanites Report (2023-2025)	Affordable Units Completed Since Housing Manhattanites Report (2023-2025)
1	2	1170	284	63
2	1	100	117	0
3	1	570	862	760
4	8	2314	1957	911
5	0	0	480	485
6	2	69	828	254
7	2	255	650	824
8	1	487	1151	146
9	3	437	1135	293
10	3	1271	747	2091
11	9	1366	1332	2701
12	3	1432	1825	1794

The Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan

In addition to substantial progress on individual housing sites detailed in our previous report, one of the potential rezonings we identified – the Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan – took a major step forward in January 2025 by officially entering the City's Universal Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP).

This rezoning aimed to unlock housing opportunity across a 42-block portion of Manhattan that includes the Midtown Manufacturing Area. This area was highlighted in our first Housing Manhattanites report, along with nearby areas that are also currently zoned for manufacturing use that could unlock approximately 9,535 units of housing while also balancing the needs of businesses in the area, bringing public realm improvements, and enhancing public safety.

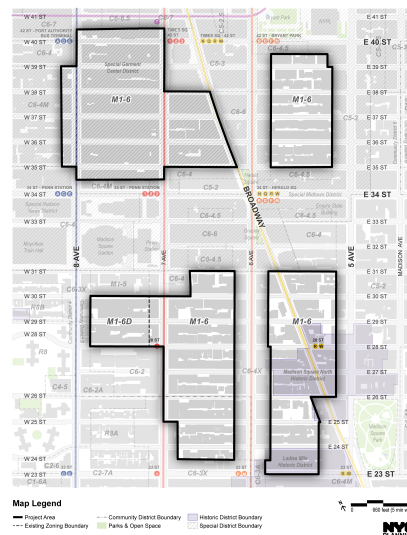


Figure 1. Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan Project Area Map, courtesy of NYC Dept. of Planning

The MSMX proposal maps three pairs of manufacturing and residential districts with residential Floor Area Ratios (FAR) between 15 and 18, spread across four distinct quadrants. The higher FARs were made possible by the State's repeal of the residential FAR cap previously imposed on New York City, and the creation of R11 and R12 districts by the City of Yes for Housing Opportunity zoning text amendments passed in December 2024.

Importantly, the entire special district would be subject to Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH), requiring 20 to 30 percent of all new housing units created be permanently affordable. In total, the proposal is expected to facilitate the creation of approximately 9,535 housing units, including up to 2,842 permanently affordable units under MIH.

Additionally, the proposed special district would remove restrictions on housing in C6-4M zoning districts – paving the way for feasible residential conversions of buildings of 60,000 square feet and offer floor area bonuses that incentivize public realm improvements. Our office received several recommendations for potential housing sites that fall within the boundaries of the proposed rezoning area, and all of those sites and their potential housing units are captured within the estimates provided in this summary.

On March 5th, Manhattan Community Board 4 (CB 4) voted to disapprove the applications with conditions, citing concerns about preserving neighborhood character and managing building height and density. Community Board 5 (CB 5) voted to unanimously approve the proposal with conditions on April 10th. At the Manhattan Borough Board, a conditionally favorable recommendation was passed with Community Board 5 as well as Council members Bottcher and Powers as well as the Borough President's Office voting in favor of the resolution and Community Board 4 voting against. On April 17, Borough President Levine recommended approving the proposal with conditions. These conditions included establishing a public realm fund; directing agencies to explore incentives that prioritize property conversions over demolitions; requiring that more than 25% of affordable housing units be delivered in newly created buildings; developing strategies to protect legacy industries; and identifying opportunities to revitalize open spaces within and around the rezoning area.

On August 6th, 2025, the Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan was adopted by the New York City Council. Alongside housing production, the Council negotiated a \$488 million investment package that includes over \$120 million specifically dedicated to preserving the area's signature garment and fashion industries. The agreement also allocates more than \$340 million toward critical infrastructure enhancements, including street improvements, park upgrades, transit system investments, and expanded healthcare services for the surrounding community.

Housing Manhattanites 2025

Finding New Homes: Public Submissions & New Rezoning

Public Submissions

Since releasing our initial report, we invited the public to suggest potential housing sites through our website. We received over 90 submissions and, after reviewing each one using the same methodology applied to our original 171 sites, we identified 34 locations with real potential to deliver new housing in Manhattan.

Together, these sites could yield nearly 3,000 new homes — including over 350 affordable units. Most sites are surface parking lots, with a handful of vacant or underutilized mall and retail properties. Our office assessed each site using publicly available data, which may have some discrepancies with current uses.

New Housing Submissions, by Community Board (CB)

CB	Sites	Total Units	Affordable Units
1	2	442	89
2	4	378	84
3	7	488	0
4	3	101	0
5	2	165	0
6	1	318	0
7	1	27	0
8	1	125	25
9	3	129	0
10	4	76	11
11	1	480	120
12	5	210	22
Total	34	2939	351

New Housing Submissions, Individual Sites

Address	CB	Proposed Units	Proposed Affordable Units
22 Cliff St	1	258	52
14-26 S William St	1	184	37
410 Lafayette St	2	100	25

Address	CB	Proposed Units	Proposed Affordable Units
395 Broome St	2	46	0
349 Canal St	2	114	29
375 Lafayette	2	118	30
88-90 Madison St	3	38	0
87-89 Madison St & 38 Henry St	3	105	0
130 E 2nd St	3	137	0
109 E 3rd St	3	57	0
737 East 6th St	3	98	0
89 Rivington St	3	41	0
98 Bayard St	3	12	0
742 9 Avenue	4	12	0
344 West 45 St	4	31	0
327 West 46 St	4	58	0
384 8th Avenue	5	82	0
38 West 46th St	5	83	0
500 East 30 St	6	318	0
157 West 83rd St	7	27	0
1829 1st Avenue	8	125	25
673 Saint Nicholas Avenue	9	110	0
3289 Broadway	9	9	0
449 Convent Ave	9	10	0
113 West 136th St	10	11	11
210 W 145th St	10	45	0
385 Manhattan Ave	10	7	0
262 West 121st St	10	13	0
1800 Park Avenue	11	480	120
562 W 182nd St	12	32	0
4849 Broadway	12	54	0
150 Nagle Ave	12	44	0
506 W 181st St	12	32	10
5089-5099 Broadway	12	48	12
Total		2939	351

New Rezoning Opportunity: 12th Avenue Waterfront District

Since the release of our plan, our team has continued to review opportunities for rezonings in Manhattan that could generate more housing. Based on conversations with stakeholders, we reimagined the manufacturing district along 12th Avenue north of 125th Street as a vibrant mixed-use area. A potential rezoning of the manufacturing area could yield up to 1,550 units of housing, with closer to 6,000 units possible in the neighborhood overall.

Neighborhood Context

The 12th Avenue waterfront area contains commercial and light manufacturing spaces, many of them vacant or underused, and is located under the elevated Riverside Drive viaduct from 125th Street to 135th Street in Harlem. This area is part of the Manhattanville Mixed Use District (MMU), which was established in 2007 and contains three subdistricts. Subdistrict A, the “Academic Mixed Use Area”, is zoned C6-1 and spans from the east side of 12th Avenue to Broadway. Subdistrict B, the “Waterfront Area”, is zoned M1-2 and spans west side of 12th Avenue to the waterfront. Subdistrict C, the “Mixed Use Development Area,” is a small C6-2 district at 12th Avenue and 133rd to 134th Streets. There is an additional C6-2 district on Broadway and a R7-2 area with a C2-4 overlay at 12th Avenue and 135th Street.

The M1-2 manufacturing district allows for light manufacturing with a floor area ratio (FAR) of 2.0, but does not allow residential development. The C6-1 commercial district allows residential development at an R7-2 residential equivalent with a maximum residential FAR of 3.44. The C6-2 commercial district has an R8 residential equivalent with a residential FAR of 6.02.

While there has been more recent development in the Academic Mixed-Use Area, the 12th Avenue waterfront area has been neglected. This area could become a vibrant mixed-use neighborhood with local retail, residences, ample transit across the metropolitan area, and access to a reimagined waterfront.

This area is home to historic cultural institutions such as the Cotton Club, and is in close proximity to the Apollo Theater, National Black Theater and the Studio Museum of Harlem. The redevelopment of this area should celebrate the history of Harlem by preserving these spaces and investing in art installations, murals, and community/educational spaces to invite visitors and residents alike to engage with the culture and heritage of the area.

Proposed Rezoning

A potential rezoning of the waterfront manufacturing district could allow for mixed-use development in the area. Options to achieve this include a MX district that continues to allow light manufacturing

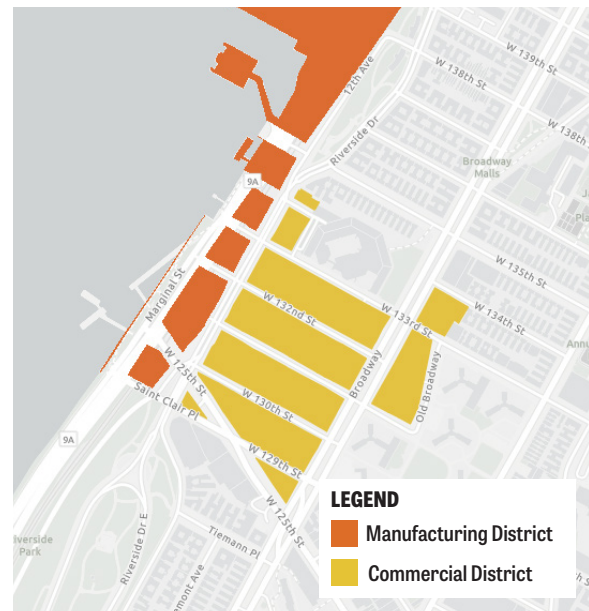


Figure 2. 12th Avenue Waterfront District & Manhattanville Mixed-Use District

uses that can co-exist with residential, or a commercial district that also has flexibility for light manufacturing, retail, and residential.

There are multiple residential densities and geographies that could be considered.

- Rezoning the M1-2 district to an R8 equivalent could yield approximately 900 units of housing, with approximately 230 affordable
- Rezoning the M1-2 district to an R10 equivalent could yield approximately 1,550 units of housing, with approximately 400 affordable

While the priority would be rezoning the manufacturing area to allow for the potential of mixed-use development, including residential, there is also the possibility to look at housing potential in the greater MMU district.

- Under current zoning, a maximum of approximately 1,600 units would be possible at vacant or underutilized sites in the MMU district, with no requirement for affordability though there is the opportunity to add 325 affordable units with UAP
- Rezoning the greater MMU district (including the M1-2 district) to an R8 equivalent could yield a total of approximately 3,700 units with 940 affordable
- Rezoning the greater MMU district (including the M1-2 district) to an R10 equivalent could yield a total of approximately 6,000 units of housing with 1,600 affordable

Mixed-Use Neighborhood

Any rezoning of the area for additional residential density would need to be accompanied by infrastructure improvements to the area, flood mitigation and resiliency strategies, and streetscape improvements.

An activated 12th Avenue would also be a place for local businesses based in Harlem, with commercial developments that could include retail, dining, and potentially a large public market. Activating the ground floor with commercial development would complement any future residential development.

This area also has the potential to become a multimodal transportation hub, providing Upper Manhattan with new local and regional connections. By creating more direct routes for visitors to upper Manhattan, these connections have the potential to be a boon to the local businesses and cultural institutions and provide additional options for residents of upper Manhattan and the Bronx. Such options should include investment in:

- Ferries to Edgewater/Weehawken, NJ and North-South routes on the West Side of Manhattan from West Harlem-125th Street pier
- West 125th Street Metro North Station along the current Empire Connection/West Side Line
- Second Ave Subway Phase 2b: 125th Street Extension
- Street redesign and streetscape improvement to make the area more pedestrian and bike-oriented, and attractive

Inter-agency coordination would be required to facilitate these improvements to infrastructure and transportation.

Community Input Needed

Future stakeholder engagement is a must in order to refine and enhance these goals. Any re-imagining of the area must be rooted in Harlem's unique culture, and an engagement process that centers community organizations and existing residents will be critical to advance any vision here.

Considerations

This area contains unique challenges from the existing built environment, including the challenges of developing around the Riverside Drive viaduct, the Amtrak railroad tracks, and the Henry Hudson Parkway. However, this allows for the opportunity for creative solutions to provide housing in challenging built environment. At 135th Street and 12th Avenue, an upcoming development plans to cantilever over the railroad tracks. While the proposal involves extensive coordination with Amtrak, it is an example of one potential creative solution to housing development here. Additionally, some vacant or underutilized properties have proposed future uses by private owners. While this may limit the maximum number of housing units that could be developed in the area, this does not preclude exploring a vision for a vibrant mixed-use district.

Housing Manhattanites 2025

Building Momentum: Policy Advancements that Encourage Housing Production

The landscape of housing policy has evolved in promising ways since the release of our original report in 2023. At the city level, important steps have been taken to eliminate barriers for housing development. Our office proudly recommended approval of City of Yes for Housing Opportunity on July 8, 2024, and voted in favor at Borough Board on July 9, 2024, where the resolution recommended approving with conditions passed. We were thrilled when the New York City Council voted to approve the zoning proposal on December 5, 2025. City of Yes for Housing Opportunity unlocks the potential to significantly increase housing production citywide through various zoning provisions including Universal Affordability Preference (UAP), office-to-residential conversions and establishing more dense residential zoning districts. Our office also fiercely advocated for legislation to lift the 12 FAR cap. In April 2024 the state passed this legislation allowing for greater housing density. The 12 FAR changes have already been implemented in the Midtown South Mixed-use Plan and are pending adoption at an MTA-owned site in Harlem. These developments demonstrate how targeted policy changes can meaningfully address our borough's housing challenges.

Additional Units from Universal Affordability Preference

The Universal Affordability Preference (UAP) was adopted as part of the City of Yes for Housing Opportunity zoning text amendments in 2024. These amendments marked a significant shift in how affordable housing is incentivized across Manhattan, by allowing for a twenty percent increase in floor area, if one hundred percent of that area is affordable housing. UAP unlocks the potential for additional affordable units in individual sites identified in the original Housing Manhattanites. In this report, we studied how UAP could be applied to the sites identified in our first report.

Original Sites

Beyond the proposed rezonings, Universal Affordability Preference (UAP) could significantly increase the quantity of affordable housing on the 171 sites identified in our original report. As part of our 2025 Housing Manhattanites update, we evaluated where UAP zoning incentives could be applied to our original 171 sites. This analysis found that UAP, or UAP FAR in cases where MIH would apply, could be applicable on 102 of the 171 sites, generating approximately 3,741 additional housing units including 3,234 affordable units.

Office-to-Residential Conversion Opportunities

The City also broadened where and how new housing can be created through office-to-residential conversions. Recent zoning text changes in the City of Yes for Housing Opportunity facilitating office-to-residential conversions represent an opportunity to transform underutilized commercial spaces into much-needed housing while simultaneously addressing shifting workplace patterns.

When we first highlighted this opportunity in 2023, we were optimistic about its potential. Since then, significant progress has been made to ease the conversion of office buildings to residential citywide.

At the State level, the 467-m tax incentive encourages the inclusion of affordable units and sets important prevailing wage provisions in conversion projects while making office-to-residential conversions more financially feasible. At the city level, the City Council's adoption of City of Yes for Housing Opportunity means that buildings built before 1991 can now be converted, when previously only buildings constructed before 1961 could be converted to housing and allows for greater flexibility in the type of housing that can be built. The City's Office Conversion Accelerator program has attracted interest from 70 potential conversion projects citywide. It has been reported that 25 projects in Manhattan are undergoing conversion¹⁰, with our office finding over 8,000 potential units from projects with projected unit counts, which were not available for each site.

Charter Revision Commission Housing Proposals

In November 2025, voters approved three Charter Revision Commission proposals to accelerate housing production across New York City by reducing procedural barriers that have stifled development for decades, addressing bottlenecks in our current system.

Approval of the Fast Track Affordable Housing proposal (Question 2) establishes two pathways designed to overcome time and cost barriers that have made publicly financed affordable housing difficult to deliver. The first pathway creates a new zoning action at the Board of Standards and Appeals (BSA) specifically for publicly subsidized affordable housing projects, which currently face the same lengthy ULURP process as other developments. Under the new BSA fast track, applications maintain the same 60-day Community Board review period but then receive a final BSA determination within 90 days of filing. This streamlined process could save affordable housing developers over hundreds of thousands of dollars in soft costs per project. The second pathway establishes an expedited review for projects subject to Mandatory Inclusionary Housing requirements in the 12 community districts that have permitted the least affordable housing over the preceding five years. These projects will maintain complete Community Board review with Borough President review occurring during the same 60-day period. By targeting community districts that do not contribute a substantive amount of affordable housing, this fast track will promote more equitable distribution of affordable housing opportunities across neighborhoods.

The Expedited Land Use Review Procedure (Question 3) addresses how the city approaches modest residential growth and essential infrastructure projects. This approved ballot measure establishes a process half the length of traditional ULURP for projects that increase residential density by 30% or less in high density neighborhoods, introduce small-scale multifamily buildings in low-density areas, and map changes for resiliency projects among other uses. The approved proposal extends these

10 <https://www.wsj.com/real-estate/commercial/nyc-office-residential-conversions-housing-4723b702>

efficiencies to affordable housing dispositions and acquisitions, eliminating delays that routinely add time to projects already navigating complex approval processes.

The Affordable Housing Appeals Board (Question 4) confronts the challenges of hyperlocal opposition that has concentrated housing production in a handful of neighborhoods. This approved ballot measure creates a three-member board comprising the Mayor, Council Speaker, and affected Borough President that requires a two-thirds consensus to reverse Council decisions rejecting or substantially diminishing affordable housing production. This mechanism rebalances a system that has granted individual Council members effective veto power over projects serving broader public needs. The reform preserves full Community Board review and Council authority while introducing a tool that acknowledges borough-wide and citywide perspectives.

Conclusion

The progress documented in this report demonstrates what is possible when we approach the housing crisis with collective action, from individual sites breaking ground to neighborhood rezonings and game changing policy reforms. Yet, addressing a challenge of this magnitude requires sustained commitment from every stakeholder. Every city agency, every local stakeholder, and every New Yorker has a role to play in welcoming new neighbors and supporting housing development in their own communities. The alternative of continued scarcity hurts us all through rising rents, displacement, and diminished diversity. The tools are now in place: we have proven sites ready for development, policies that unlock new opportunities, and political momentum behind housing production. We've made progress, but it's a beginning. The work of building a more affordable, more inclusive Manhattan continues, and it will take all of us to see it through.